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 RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC
 INFO RUEKJCS/JCS WASHDC
 RUFHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 5805
 RUFDAAA/CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GER
 RMDLCNE/CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK
 RUFRRSH/USDOCUSOUTH NAPLES IT
 RUFHKK/ALL NATO CAPITALS
 RUCBSAA/CINCLANT NORFOLK VA
 RUCBSAA/USLUSACLANT NORFOLK VA
 RHFRAAA/CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN AB GER
 RUDOKRA/USNMR SHAPE BE
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 S E C R E T USNATO 00149 COMBINED SECTION

GENEVA FOR USINF

E.O. 12065: RDS-1 1/8/88 (LEGERE, LAURENCE J) OR-G
 TAGS: NATO, MPUL, OREP
 SUBJECT: (U) NUNN VISIT TO NATO

REFS: (A) 81 STATE 335011 DTG 190300Z DEC 81
 - (B) 81 USNATO 7956 DTG 232033Z DEC 81

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1. (S-ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: SENATOR NUNN'S VISIT TO NATO WAS MOST WELCOME AS THE MESSAGES HE DELIVERED TO ALLIED OFFICIALS WERE PRECISELY THE ONES, IN OUR VIEW, THAT SHOULD GIVE THE ALLIES A BETTER APPRECIATION FOR US FRUSTRATIONS WITH THE GENERAL LEVEL OF DEFENSE EFFORT ON THE PART OF EUROPEANS. THIS MESSAGE COVERS THE HIGHLIGHTS OF THE THEMES DEVELOPED BY SENATOR NUNN AND SUMMARIZES THE GENERAL REACTIONS OF ALLIED OFFICIALS. ADDITIONALLY IT OUTLINES AN EXPLICATION, GIVEN BY GERMAN PERM REP WIECK, FOR THE CURRENT DIFFERENCES IN APPROACH TO DEFENSE ISSUES BY THE FRG AND THE US WHICH WE FIND TO BE ENLIGHTENING. END SUMMARY.

3. NUNN'S THEMES AND MAJOR QUESTIONS

A. THERE IS A GROWING PERCEPTION IN THE US THAT AMERICANS ARE MORE CONCERNED ABOUT THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE THAN ARE THE EUROPEANS, AND THIS COULD KINDLE A PUBLIC DEBATE WITH SERIOUS AND NEGATIVE OVERTONES FOR CONTINUED US SUPPORT OF NATO AT THE LEVELS EUROPEANS HAVE COME TO TAKE FOR GRANTED.

B. TO WHAT DEGREE ARE THE ANTI-NUCLEAR DEMONSTRATIONS IN EUROPE ANTI-AMERICAN IN NATURE? IN PROBING THE RESPONSES TO THIS QUESTION, SENATOR NUNN OFTEN REFERRED TO THE ENHANCED RADIATION WEAPON AND THE FRENCH PARADOX -- OBSERVING THAT A US DECISION TO PRODUCE ERW HAD MET WITH HOWLS OF PROTEST IN EUROPE (EVEN THOUGH THE US ANNOUNCEMENT STATED CLEARLY DEPLOYMENT WOULD NOT OCCUR WITHOUT FULL CONSULTATION AND CONSENT OF ALLIES) WHEREAS THE FRENCH ANNOUNCEMENT THAT IT WAS MAKING ITS OWN NEUTRON BOMB HAD CAUSED HARDLY A RIPPLE.

C. WHAT WOULD BE EUROPE'S REACTION TO A CHANGE IN US FORCE POSTURE IN EUROPE WHICH, IN EFFECT, MADE US FORCES SWING FORCES: THAT IS, FORCES WHICH

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COULD BE REDEPLOYED QUICKLY FROM EUROPE TO SOME TROUBLE SPOT SUCH AS SOUTH WEST ASIA? IN ASKING THIS QUESTION SENATOR NUNN OBSERVED THAT MANY IN US WERE EXAMINING THIS NOTION IN LIGHT OF THE GLOBAL THREAT AND A GROWING CONCERN THAT WE WERE TYING DOWN TOO MUCH OF OUR DEFENSE CAPABILITY TO CENTRAL EUROPE.

4. GENERAL ALLIED REACTIONS TO THE SENATOR'S THEMES AND QUESTIONS.

A. THERE IS A GROWING AWARENESS AMONG MANY ALLIED LEADERS FOR THE MAGNITUDE AND DIMENSIONS OF THE MILITARY THREAT POSED BY THE SOVIET UNION, BUT THIS AWARENESS STILL DOES NOT ACCORD TO THAT THREAT THE SAME SIGNIFICANCE ACCORDED BY AMERICAN LEADERS AND THE AMERICAN PUBLIC. AT THE SAME TIME MANY ALLIED OFFICIALS EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE PUBLIC INFORMATION CAMPAIGN UNDER WAY AND THE FORTHCOMING BOOKLET COMPARING NATO AND WARSAW PACT FORCES WOULD HEIGHTEN PUBLIC APPRECIATION IN EUROPE FOR THE NEED TO MAKE A GREATER EFFORT FOR DEFENSE.

B. THERE APPEARED TO BE A CONSENSUS AMONG THE ALLIED OFFICIALS WITH WHOM THE SENATOR SPOKE THAT THE ANTI-NUCLEAR DEMONSTRATIONS IN EUROPE WERE PRIMARILY THAT -- ANTI-NUCLEAR DEMONSTRATIONS. THEY OBSERVED THAT THERE IS A GROWING FEAR OF THE

POSSIBILITY OF A NUCLEAR EXCHANGE WHICH HAD BEEN FUELED, IN PART, BY SOME RECENT REMARKS BY AMERICAN OFFICIALS. THEY ALSO OBSERVED VIS-A-VIS THE FRENCH NEUTRON BOMB PARADOX THAT THE US AND FRANCE ARE SEEN DIFFERENTLY IN THE EYES OF ALLIANCE PUBLICS. US NUCLEAR POWER PROVIDES THE DETERRENT FOR NATO; THUS US NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE NATO NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND NATO PUBLICS SHOULD HAVE SOME SAY IN THEM; CONVERSELY THE FRENCH NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE REGARDED AS A MATTER FOR THE FRENCH TO WORRY ABOUT -- ONE OF THE DIVIDENDS APPARENTLY OF THE GAULLIST APPROACH.

C. MOST ALLIED OFFICIALS TENDED TO DUCK THE

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ISSUE OF US FORCES IN EUROPE BECOMING SWING FORCES.

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5. AMB WIECK'S EXPLICATION OF GERMAN NATIONAL STRATEGY

- AMB WIECK EXPLAINED TO SENATOR NUNN THAT FRG
RELUCTANCE TO INCREASE ITS DEFENSE SPENDING IN THE
CURRENT ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES FLOWS FROM A
FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE IN THE STRATEGIC THINKING OF
THE GERMAN LEADERSHIP FROM THAT OF THE US LEADERSHIP.
IN THEIR VIEW THE FOLLOWING LINE OF REASONING SHOULD GUIDE
GERMANY'S APPROACH TO THE SOVIET CHALLENGE:

- --THE USSR DOES NOT WANT TO GAIN CONTROL OF EUROPE
- BY ACTUALLY FIGHTING A WAR THERE. (PERMREP WIECK
- WAS FRG AMBASSADOR TO MOSCOW AND FEELS STRONGLY
- THAT THIS ASSESSMENT IS CORRECT.)
- --THE USSR STRATEGY HINGES ON UNDERMINING EUROPE
- AND HAVING THE INSTITUTIONS OF WESTERN EUROPE
- COLLAPSE.
- --THE TREMENDOUS INCREASE IN OIL PRICES ADDED TO
- THE COLLAPSE OF CENTO HAS RAISED MOSCOW'S HOPES
- FOR UNDERMINING WESTERN EUROPE, PARTICULARLY IF
- THE TURBULENCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST CAN BE SUSTAINED
- (WHICH WOULD NOT BE CASE IF SOVIETS INVOLVED IRAN.)
- --HAD IRAN AND THE US STILL BEEN ALLIED, THE SOVIET
- UNION WOULD NOT HAVE SENT 85,000 TROOPS INTO
- AFGHANISTAN; THEY WOULD HAVE FEARED THE RESULTANT
- REINFORCEMENT OF CENTO (IN OTHER WORDS WHILE
- WESTERN THINKING DID NOT ATTACH MUCH STOCK TO
- CENTO, SOVIET PLANNERS FEARED ITS POTENTIAL
- BUT COULD IGNORE THAT WITH THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION.)
- --ACCORDINGLY THE MOST IMMEDIATE THREAT IN GERMAN
- EYES IS THE THREAT TO THE WESTERN ECONOMIES,
- WHICH HAS BEEN EXACERBATED BY THE HIGH COST
- OF OIL.

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- --THEY PLAN TO MEET THAT THREAT BY GREATLY
- REDUCING PUBLIC BORROWING SO THAT PRIVATE
- ENTERPRISE CAN HAVE ACCESS TO AVAILABLE FUNDS TO
- PUT THE ECONOMY BACK ON A SOLID BASIS. THIS MEANS
- NO MORE FUNDS FOR DEFENSE UNTIL THE ECONOMY IS
- BETTER. IN THE MEANTIME THE MILITARY DETERRENT
- WILL BE SUFFICIENT.

- --US HIGH INTEREST RATES MAKE THIS GERMAN ECONOMIC
- STRATEGY DIFFICULT TO EXECUTE.

6. THIS MESSAGE HAS NOT BEEN SEEN BY SENATOR NUNN.
LEDOGAR

END OF MESSAGE

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